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would be made equally liable for not opposing the chief executive in such illegalities.

I take the oath of office with the profound feeling that I have an immense task before me. I shall strive to administer my office with due regard to justice for all abiding by the law and the constitution. With the co-operation of the country at large, I hope to see unbroken peace and the prosperity of my country.

IRELAND'S CASE AND LORD GREY'S WAY OUT

Viscount Grey, writing to the *London Westminster Gazette*, had this to say to his countrymen:

"The government of Ireland has been unable to punish or prevent the constant murder of those who serve it; in parts of Ireland its authority has apparently ceased and been superseded by Sinn Fein courts, from which alone can any redress be obtained for ordinary crime or wrong-doing, and some, if not all, of the once Unionist minority in Nationalist Ireland, hopeless of protection from the British Government, is now advocating dominion home rule, or looking to an agreement with the Sinn Fein.

"The British administration, in fact, is exhibiting the helplessness of an extremely feeble government, while incurring all the odium of one that rules by force. Ireland is more discontented than ever, and there is no prospect of a settlement or improvement.

"To this we have come after centuries of British rule, and it would be well for every one, whether he be a Home Ruler or a Unionist, to look for the cause with a fresh mind.

"The permanent underlying cause of a failure so pronounced and persistent as that in Ireland is not to be found in the shortcomings of individual governments, not even in those of the present governments. Faulty as all governments may be and as many British governments in Ireland certainly have been, the Irish question would have been solved before now but for one thing—the difference between Irishmen themselves—that is, between Ulster or part of Ulster and the rest of Ireland. Now, the lesson of past years is that this difference is inflamed, and not composed, by British proposals for the government of Ireland.

"The present Home Rule bill now before Parliament is no exception. There is much to be said in the abstract for the lines on which it is drawn—they could easily be expanded into dominion home rule for a united Ireland. But apparently no one wants the bill, no one accepts it as a solution, and Irishmen will refuse to put it into operation. We must therefore look to some other policy for relief.

"Nothing that is in the nature of a bargain between the British Government and one part of Ireland has any chance of success. If the Sinn Fein accept it, Ulster will denounce it. If Ulster accept it, the Sinn Fein will reject it.

"The only prospect for future peace and good government in Ireland is that the Irish should draw up their own scheme. This is a point which Lord Hugh Cecil made very clearly a few weeks ago. But his proposal had, I think, a fatal defect—it stopped short of the one thing essential to make Irishmen agree upon their own problems. They will never do this except under pressure of a real sense of responsibility.

"This is what they have never yet had, for it has always been understood that as long as Irishmen differed Great Britain would go on governing or proposing plans for the government of Ireland. As long as this is so the Irish Convention or Constituent Assembly will either differ and break up in internal discord or propose something different."

THE UNITED STATES MILITARY FORCES

A regular army of approximately 300,000 men and a national guard affiliated with it that by 1924 will have a strength of more than 400,000 privates and officers is contemplated by the General Staff. This force, it is urged,

would and should be available, and it could be enlarged to a total of 2,000,000 fighters by use of conscription.

The method by which this is to be effected is set forth in a recent War Department statement:

"In line with the policy of the War Department in organizing the troops of each corps area, the reserve and national guard officers of the General Staff, on duty in the War Department, have been ordered to visit each corps area headquarters and there to advise and confer with the corps area commanders and the State authorities with reference to the organization of the national guard divisions allocated to the various corps areas.

"It has been deemed advisable by the War Department to begin the reorganization of the national guard immediately, and a table of tentative allotments has been prepared showing the number of troops to be organized in each State, under section 62 of the National Defense Act, as amended, which requires a proportion of 200 men for each Senator and Representative in Congress, and a number to be determined by the President for each Territory and the District of Columbia; with a proportionate annual increase until 800 men per Senator and Representative has been reached, which minimum is required under the statute by June 30, 1924. If the provisions of this law are fulfilled, a total enlisted strength of approximately 427,000 men will be provided as the peace organization of the national guard component of the army.

"It is realized by the War Department that the number of national guard units allocated to the several corps areas may at first glance appear ambitious, but they provide only the tactical units required in the general scheme of defense to absorb the minimum strength directed in the National Defense Act to be reached by June 30, 1924.

"The policy of the War Department will be to give every assistance possible to State authorities in the solution of the predicaments which may confront them during the reorganization, and it is contemplated that corps area commanders will confer with State authorities with a view to recommending to the War Department changes in the tentative State allotments which may be considered desirable, and such changes as may be approved will be incorporated in the final allotments before their issuance, for the guidance of all concerned.

"It is contemplated that troops required under the allotment which are armed with weapons not susceptible to use in State emergencies will be provided with infantry equipment and will be trained as infantry to a limited degree, in order that they may have a distinct value from the standpoint of State requirements.

"After the allotment tables have been formally approved, the localization of units called for will be worked out by committees in the several States, of which a majority membership will be made up of national guard and reserve officers."

THE COSTS OF MAKING AND KEEPING PEACE

President Wilson submitted to the Senate and House, December 8, a statement in detail showing the expenses incurred by the commission of which he was head, that represented the United States at the Peace Conference. The period covered was from December 1, 1918, to December 31, 1919. The sum, he states, not only covers the cost of transportation to and from Paris and of residence there of the commission and its advisers, but also the expenses of the various delegations that were sent to Russia, Germany, Austria, Poland, Armenia, and the Near East. The interesting fact is disclosed that Colonel House drew a salary of \$1,000 a month, and that the "confidential expenditures" of the President amounted to \$17,534. The total cost of the enterprise was \$1,651,191.

THE COSTS OF ADMINISTERING THE LEAGUE

In reporting to the French Parliament upon the national budget, M. Nobelmaire discussed frankly the costs that were piling up for France, owing to her share in the administrative costs of the League of Nations, and the effect of his statements have been reflected in the proceedings of the Assembly at Geneva, where France has led in a determined effort to reduce the amount of money to be spent by the League, France insisting that the salaries paid are much too high, and that the offices and working plant of the League in Geneva are much too luxurious.

M. Nobelmaire insisted that the League should have a special controlling body, charged with supervision of the League's expenditures and auditing its accounts. He cited that in the first six months of its existence the League had cost 10,000,000 francs in gold, and that the third budget approved by the Council, that was to come before the Assembly in Geneva, called on France to pay 2,700,000 francs into the League treasury during 1921. He showed that the secretarial staff alone cost the signatory States more than 8,000,000 francs during the first six months of the League's life. The Brussels Conference cost the League 1,500,000 francs, and the International Labor Bureau had incurred expenses amounting to 8,000,000 francs and was asking for an enlarged staff, while for the work of the League as a whole its secretariat was proposing a "working fund" of 4,000,000 francs. Inasmuch as many parliaments of the signatory powers had not met the financial responsibilities involved in their membership in the League, M. Nobelmaire showed how the League had been forced to become a debtor and to borrow funds for its running expenses. His plea is for stricter accounting, more severe economy in administration, and all possible effort to save the League secretariat from becoming a bureaucracy. France, he said, must stand for this broader policy, if it is to stay in the League and to pay its share. Any other policy would be folly, in the light of the plight of the national treasury and credit.

THE ASSEMBLY'S REACTIONS

This problem of keeping the administrative expenses of the League within bounds came before the meeting of the Assembly at Geneva quite early in the sessions, and at times took on quite an acrimonious form of debate, with specific charges against the extravagance of the salaries paid the secretariat and the status of splendor in which the League's officials are housed, etc. French, Swedish, and Canadian champions of economy were conspicuous, and the net effect of the debate was to make temporary appointment of commissions to do specific tasks for the League rather than to set up new permanent commissions, as had been recommended by the administrative officials at Berne and by the Council. The Argentina Republic's representatives, after they withdrew from the Assembly, announced that the Republic would not be liable for further assessments.

NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS, 1919-1920

The Storthing of Norway, functioning in accord with the terms of the bequest of Alfred Nobel, has awarded two peace prizes, one for 1919 to M. Leon Bourgeois, the eminent French promoter of international arbitral and judicial relations and a representative of France in the Council of the

League of Nations, and the other—for 1920—to President Wilson.

The latter, in instructing the American Minister to Norway to accept on his behalf the award of the Storthing, wrote:

In accepting the honor of your award, I am moved not only by a profound gratitude for the recognition of my earnest efforts in the cause of peace, but also by a very poignant humility before the vastness of the work still called for by this cause.

May I not take this occasion to express my respect for the farsighted wisdom of the founder in arranging for a continuing system of awards?

If there were but one such prize, or if this were to be the last, I could not, of course, accept it. For mankind has not yet been rid of the unspeakable horror of war. I am convinced that our generation has, despite its wounds, made notable progress. But it is the better part of wisdom to consider our work as only begun. It will be a continuing labor. In the indefinite course of years before us, there will be abundant opportunity for others to distinguish themselves in the crusade against hate and fear and war.

There is, indeed, a peculiar fitness in the grouping of these Nobel awards. The Cause of Peace and the Cause of Truth are of one family. Even as those who love science and devote their lives to physics or chemistry, even as those who would create new and higher ideals for mankind in literature, even so with those who love peace, there is no limit set. Whatever has been accomplished in the past is petty compared to the glory and promise of the future.

PRIZE ESSAYS ON PEACE THEMES

The American School Citizenship League, formerly the American School Peace League, in announcing its 1920-1921 prize essay contest, again opens the competition to students of all countries. One contest is for seniors in normal schools. The theme on which competitors will write will be, "What education can do to secure co-operation as against competition between nations." The other contest is open to seniors in secondary schools, and the theme is, "The essential foundations of a co-operating world." Three prizes of \$75, \$50, and \$25 will be given for the best three essays in each set. The judges, of whom there are eight, are educators prominent in normal-school and high-school work, and the list is headed by Paul Monroe, director of the School of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City. Essays must not exceed 5,000 words in length; must be accompanied by a topical outline, and preferably be in type-writing. They should be sent to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the League, 405 Marlborough Street, not later than June 21, 1921. One of the prize-winners in the 1919-20 contest lives in England, and the other prize-winners were from Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE MESOPOTAMIAN MANDATE

On November 26 the following communication from the Secretary of State of the United States to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was made public, without the series of five which had preceded it. The full text of the correspondence, giving the British side of the case, is soon to appear in a White Book.

Mr. Colby, the representative of the United States, wrote: